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CARDINAL TENETS OF THE PEOPLES PARTY.

- Recognition of the Right of the People to Rule, *i. e.*, The Initiative and Referendum.
- Creation and Maintenance of an Honest Measure of Values.
- Government Ownership and Operation of Railroad, Telegraph and Telephone Lines.
- Opposition to Trusts.
- Opposition to Alien Ownership of Land and Court-made Law.

NOTES.

THE middle of February found the Eastern country in the grasp of the storm king. Neither in history graven on the memory of living man or recorded on printed page is the equal of such storm recalled. In the middle eastern states it stands without parallel. But then, as some one says, this is an era of expansion, and our storms are expanding too. And, seriously, do we opine that as this meteorological storm excels storms of the past will our political storms of the early future much excel all that we have buffeted against since the birth of the nation proclaiming the doctrine of liberty, of equality, of

the brotherhood of man. For denying that those doctrines are applicable to peoples beyond our borders and whom fortune has put in our power, propounding the doctrine that we are not bound by these tenets in our relations with peoples alien to us in blood and race, and trampling over that doctrine, the doctrine of the brotherhood of man, at home, ignoring it in our industrial system, we are inviting such storms.

We do not bind our railroads to an observance of the first law of liberty: that all men are of right entitled to equal opportunities. On the contrary, we tolerate the notorious breaking of this law in the interests of the trusts and combines and speculative cliques, whose great success in gathering wealth and bleeding the productive forces of the nation as so many leeches is indeed due in great part to this very breaking of the law of equality, which a government built on the doctrine of liberty should enforce but fails so to do. So, also, we see the relations of comity between employer and employed and founded on the law of mutual interest disturbed, and under the regime of trusts and growing industrial monopolies replaced by those of master and slave, under which the laborer is regarded as a mere machine put into the world to toil for the enrichment of the favored few, those building riches upon their enjoyment of special privileges, upon railroad rebates, the over-capitalizing of industries, upon trusts and monopolies, the robbing of investors of their savings and labor of the surplus fruits of toil.

And in all this is there the brewing of social and political storms. There are grievous wrongs that must be righted. Equality of opportunity is denied to men, there is injustice of man to man, the doctrines of brotherhood, of equality, of liberty are laughed to scorn by those interested in trusts and combines, participating in railroad rebates and other schemes for getting rich by robbing one's fellow men. And so, too, are we denying that these doctrines have application to the Philippines. To the people of those islands we purpose to deny liberty, and such denial cannot be but destructive of liberty at home. And so look out for storms, for our liberties are being undermined by the greed of some for gain, those some must be held in leash by the many and for the weal of the many, or the few will constitute a moneyed oligarchy, ruling for the weal of the few and the woe of the many, and we doubt not that there are hearts brave and true and stout enough to oppose the purposes of this oligarchy, its trappings on liberty, on the doctrine of equality and brotherhood, both at home and abroad.

THE closing days of the 55th Congress have been crowded with work—a good part of which has had but negative results. We turn back a couple of weeks that a comprehensive view of the hurried doings of Congress in its last days may be taken. The tangle in which legislation was thrown as is ever to be expected at the close of the short session of Congress and when much necessary work is crowded into quite insufficient time for its orderly dispatch, the rapid unravelling of this tangle so seemingly inextricable as to have led even old time observers to talk of an

extra session of Congress as unavoidable, the passing of important legislation by various legislative short cuts after passage in orderly manner is despaired of, short cuts by which a great amount of work is accomplished with great dispatch but in a way that, shutting the doors to regular consideration and scrutiny, opens wide the doors to jobbery and the enactment of imperfect laws,—are all features not unusual to the closing days of an expiring Congress but that make the doings of Congress in the last days, and when it begins to move with feverish haste, of more than usual interest. For it is then that the wheels of legislation move with an ever accelerating rapidity. And so that we may gain a comprehensive view of the tangle of legislation in these hurried and finally feverish hours, of the unravelling and results, of the measures that have fallen by the wayside, of those that have been crowded through, we turn back our glance for a couple of weeks.

It so happens that the storm of which we have spoken was not without influence on the doings of Congress. In all probability it was responsible for the tenor of the declaratory resolutions as to our policy in the Philippines passed by the Senate on Tuesday the 14th ult. Many Senators were storm-bound and as a result the attendance in the Senate was slim when these resolutions were under consideration. If there had been a full Senate when the Bacon resolutions were voted upon, resolutions pledging the United States to pursuit of the same ends in regard to the Philippines as it is already pledged to in regard to Cuba, we doubt not that those resolutions would have carried, for a glance over the pairs shows that several Senators favorable to the resolutions were restrained from voting by general pairs with absent Senators who, if present, we are disposed to believe would have voted for such resolutions. As it was the vote on these resolutions was a tie, 29 voting aye, 29 nay, whereupon the Vice-President, voting in the negative, declared these resolutions, offered as an amendment to the McEnery resolutions, afterwards adopted, lost.

These McEnery resolutions were the ones that Administration Senators promised certain Senators to take up and pass if they would vote for the ratification of the treaty with Spain. The understanding was that such resolutions should be taken up and voted upon immediately after the ratification of the treaty. But Senator Aldrich, instrumental in making the bargain whereby certain Senators undecided as to the support of the treaty were won over to its support, did not remain in the Senate to carry out the bargain. No sooner was the treaty passed than, overcome with a longing for rest, he decamped to Rhode Island to make preparations for a trip to Europe. And so the resolution which Administration Senators promised to take up and by which promise they gained votes for the treaty, we say this upon the authority of Senator McLaurin of South Carolina, went by default. That Senator announced that it was not the case with him but that he did know that there were Senators "who would not have cast their votes in favor of the treaty if it had not been understood that there would be a vote on the McEnery resolution or some other of a similar character."

WHETHER or no Senator Mason was one of these Senators we do not know for a certainty, but are much inclined to so believe, for when the resolution seemed to have been consigned to the "tomb of the Capulets" he took occasion to speak words to the Senate, and in his own breezy style, to the effect that he had been buncoed. At any rate, he arose in the Senate on Saturday, February 11th, and demanded, with much insistence, that the Senate fix a time for voting on such resolution. The Senators from Connecticut objected, whereupon Senator Mason gave vent to his pent-up feelings in impassioned, cutting and appealing speech of which he is a master. For thirty minutes or so he spoke. He charged Senators with bad faith. He declared that he would not permit Senators to so trample on their bargains and asserted his resolution to block all legislation until the resolu-

tions that Administration Senators had promised to take up and vote upon were passed upon by the Senate. He raked in his impassioned oratory those who demanded the holding of the Filipinos as a subject race—holding them for our selfish profit under the plea of holding them for their own good.

"Distinguished and pious gentlemen say," he concluded, "'God put them in our hands; it is destiny.' The Lord! There was never a tyrant who cut off heads who did not charge it to the Lord. All crimes are laid at that door. We profess to be a Christian nation, and we have conducted our affairs with a weak, childish people in such a way that we are killing them hands down, and we say we must do it for their good. If you were honest about it, gentlemen, and could show me where you could steal something for your country, I could excuse it on the ground of high (?) statesmanship, but there is not a dollar in it for your country or your States. It is murder. Then you pull the cloak around you and go into high places and say: 'Thank God, we are not as other men. We are Anglo-Saxons. We have worshipped at the throne of the Nazarene ever since we were born.' But, as Caesar's ghost says, 'We have tasted blood.'"

SO CONCLUDED Senator Mason, and then asked unanimous consent for the taking of a vote on the McEnery resolutions on the following Tuesday. The Senators from Connecticut, not having found the truths uttered by the Senator from Illinois agreeable hearing, and having taken themselves out of the Senate chamber, no objection was made, and an order was entered by unanimous consent for the taking of a vote on the above resolution on Tuesday, the 14th. The Senators from Connecticut, hearing of the agreement, waxed wroth, charged the Senator from Illinois with taking advantage of their absence from the Senate, and declared that they did not feel bound by such agreement and threatened to break it. But their threats they did not carry out; the unanimous consent agreement was not broken, the vote was duly taken, and in a slim Senate the McEnery resolution passed by a vote of 26 to 22, after the Bacon amendment thereto had been defeated by the casting vote of the Vice-President.

This resolution was so ingeniously or rather equivocally drawn that Senators interpreted its meaning quite differently, some voting against it for the very reasons that others voted for it. Thus some voted against the resolution as pledging the United States to treat the Filipinos as we already stand pledged to treat the Cubans; others voted against it because they held the meaning of the resolution to be just the opposite of this. Thus on the same side, but for directly opposite reasons, we see Senators Platt and Hawley, of Connecticut, opposed to granting the Philippines independence, and Senators Hoar and Bacon in favor of giving them independence, voting against the resolution. For such reasons the vote cannot be taken as meaning much. The vote on the Bacon amendment is a much better index to the sentiment of the Senate.

SENATOR BACON, of Georgia, led the opposition to the McEnery resolution. That resolution, he said, is no more than a declaration that the Filipino shall be subject, not citizen; that the Philippines shall not be held as a territory like New Mexico or Arizona, but simply as an outside piece of property, a dependency. In short, the resolution did not recognize that the Filipinos had any rights, assumed that they belonged to us by right of conquest and purchase, that they were our property to be disposed of as we saw fit and for our profit, but that it is the sense of the Senate that they should be treated as subjects, governed as subjects, and their right to a say in their government or their disposition never be recognized, that if permitted local self government they should be taught to regard it as a privilege, a

boon conferred by us, and not as a right inherent in them as free men, men free to choose their own government, free to rule themselves for the promotion of their own welfare. Indeed, we deny that they are free, we claim the right to rule them for the promotion, not primarily of their welfare, but of our own. That is, we assert the doctrine that governments are constituted for the profit and aggrandizement of rulers, not of ruled. This is the declaration that Senator Bacon asserted the resolution carried, this, said Senator Hoar, is the meaning it will carry to Filipinos, and so, as calculated to more than ever embitter that people against us, make them more determined than ever to oppose our forces with force, they opposed the resolution.

Senator Hoar recalled the impassioned assertions of Senators in opposing resolutions affirming that the purpose of the United States was to accord the Philippines independence, that our occupancy was but temporary, that our forces were there to defend not subvert the liberties of the people and their right to choose their own government, resolutions that if passed and made known to the Filipinos would have stopped all bloodshed. He recalled that Senators opposed such resolutions on the day the treaty was ratified, on the ground that "they would not send any message to the persons who had arms in their hands taken up against the United States. But" continued Senator Hoar, "here is a message, while those hostilities are still going on, calculated to provoke freemen, lovers of liberty, men who think as our ancestors thought, men who think as we have thought till within six months, to resistance and to hostility to death."

The resolution says in substance, he continued, that the Filipinos "are to have nothing to do about their own government hereafter. It is the intention of the United States to make a government for them 'suitable to the wants and conditions of the inhabitants of said islands.' Of that we are to judge, not they. That government is not to fit them to govern themselves even in the great things which pertain to a national life."

So SENATOR HOAR understood this resolution, and added: "To send the Filipinos a message of pity, of liberty, the man who proposes it is denounced as a traitor and as unfaithful to the interests of his country; but for a message of tyranny, a message of hate, a message of oppression, a message of slaughter these gentlemen are ready enough." But here let it be said that such Senators, known to be as favorable to granting the Filipinos their independence, as Senators Hale, Harris and Mason, though regarding the McEnery resolution as a weak declaration, gave it an opposite meaning to that placed upon it by Senator Hoar and, therefore, voted for it. We must say that in the equivocal language of the resolution there is much ground for Senator Hoar's interpretation. But as we read the resolution it is a simple declaration to the effect that in the opinion of the Senate the United States ought not to annex the Philippines as a part of the United States, but so long as they hold those islands hold them as a dependency, and the people as subjects with whose fortunes and future we may deal as we see fit without consulting them. As to the manner of dealing with them the resolutions are quite indefinite.

The resolutions that were unequivocal and to the point were those of Mr. Bacon, offered as an amendment to the McEnery resolutions, and pledging the United States to accord to the Filipinos their independence as soon as "a stable and independent government shall have been erected," in the Philippines, "entitled to recognition as such." This resolution, as we have said, was defeated by a tie vote, the Vice-President voting against it. Of those who voted for this resolution 25 belong to the opposition, Democrats, Fusionists, Silver Republicans; 4, Senators Hale, Hoar, Perkins and Quay, were Republicans. Of the 29 who voted against the amendment 23 were Republicans, 1, Kyle, of South Dakota, a quasi-Republican, being a Populist in name, owing his election to Republican support, 5, Democrats. The

vote in favor of the McEnery resolution was made up of 18 Republicans, 3 Silver Democrats, 1 gold Democrat, 2 silver Republicans, 1 Fusion Populist, of Democratic leanings, Harris, of Kansas, and 1 renegade Populist, Kyle, all told, 26. Fourteen Democrats, or rather opposition Senators, and 8 Republicans voted against the resolution, a total of 22.

These resolutions, be it remarked, were pigeon-holed when they reached the House, and so die with Congress.

AND NOW a word as to the provision made by Congress for the enlargement of our army to carry out our imperialistic policy. Aside from the ratification of the Spanish treaty the authorization of an increase in the army and the making of provision therefor was the most important work accomplished by Congress during its last session. And this was only accomplished after the hardest kind of work and the adjustment of differences between Democrats and Republicans in the Senate, that seemed so radical as to make all efforts at adjustment hopeless. But to those who were bent on averting an extra session of Congress no differences seemed too great to be uncompromisable. They went to work with a spirit that halted at no obstacles, they smoothed out differences, lay out a path for army increase that enables each side to lay claim to the victory, and so crowned their work with success. But it was only in the last hours of the session, after the army bill had many ups and downs, that success was won. Here is the story.

The Republican members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, laying plans for forcing the Hull bill for increasing the army through the Senate, were treated to a most unpleasant surprise on Wednesday, the 15th of February. It was then that the contest over army increase was precipitated in most acute form in the Senate end of the Capitol; then that threats of an extra session, bitter words of crimination and recrimination pursued one another through the corridors. This Hull bill, recently passed by the House, provided for the reorganization of the regular army on a basis of 100,000 men; that is, provided officers for 100,000 men and authorized the President to increase the regular army to that maximum figure or decrease it to fifty odd thousand without decreasing the number of officers or regimental organizations, at his discretion. Everyone understood that this meant a regular army of 100,000 men—that is if Americans should not become inculcated with the notion that "thirteen dollars a month for killing folks comes mighty cheap for murder," and so hesitate to enlist in an army, not of defense, not of liberty but of subjugation. But this bill, somewhat amended, the Republican members of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs resolved to report to the Senate. To so report it they deemed that they had the votes, there being six Republican and five Democratic members of the committee. So on Wednesday, the 15th, Senator Hawley, chairman of the committee, announced to the Democratic members the resolution of the Republican members to at once report the bill. Senator Cockrell remarked that this was all very well but asked where they were going to get the votes to carry out their resolution. He was told that it would be done by the six Republican votes, for though Senator Proctor, one of the Republican members had been absent on a trip to Cuba during the consideration of the bill, Senator Hawley felt warranted in regarding him as favorable to the bill and so counting his vote. But Senator Cockrell disputed this assumption of the Republicans, he denied that Senator Proctor was favorable to the Hull bill, disputed the assertion that he would vote for it if present and produced a letter from Senator Proctor in which he asserted his opposition to the plan of army reorganization as contemplated in the Hull bill and asked Senator Cockrell to see that he was paired against it.

THIS announcement startled the Republicans and coming from a Republican Senator on a tour of the Island of Cuba and

seeing with his own eyes and judging for himself of the need of American troops in Cuba it was regarded by those opposed to a large permanent increase of the army and not acquainted with the secrets of the Senate or the workings of the Senator's mind as most significant though, as it afterwards appeared, Senator Proctor's opposition to the bill was based on the disfavor with which he viewed the present method of army appointment and which was perpetuated in the Hull bill. Indeed upon his return from Cuba, Senator Proctor declared that this method of appointment, a method whereby not merit but political pull is recognized, whereby political influence, social relations, riches, not merit win promotion, was the bane of our army, to this he traced its shortcomings, especially the lamentable failure of the general staff, the Washington end of the army, during the last war, and such system of appointment he did not want to perpetuate. Be it remarked that under the present system officers appointed to places on the general staff, to places in Washington, are permanently separated from service with troops, for such appointments are life appointments and there is no transfer of officers so that after a certain length of service on the staff such officers would again take their turn as officers of the line doing active service with the troops. Naturally these staff appointments, carrying good salary and bureaucratic ease, are regarded as the army "snaps." Senator Proctor contended there should be no snaps, that all officers should take their turn of service with the troops. But as it is these staff appointments are much sought after and as declared Senator Proctor: "It is a mere statement of fact to say that a man who has the strongest pull usually gets the place. It is oftener obtained on political pull; sometimes on personal or social." Indeed the very method of appointment makes this natural, for the appointments are Presidential, subject to confirmation by the Senate, and the President who would not displease influential Senators and be slapped in the face by having his appointments turned down or who would not antagonize Congress must subordinate his own judgment in the matter of such appointments to the recommendations of Senators and Congressmen. Therefore under the present system the President practically gives over to influential Senators and members of the House the naming of these staff officers. The weak President will bow to it as inevitable, the strong will bring down the wrath of Congress if he opposes, insists upon appointing by merit not to enable Congressmen to pay political or other debts.

SENATOR PROCTOR illustrated the way in which appointments from the line to the general staff, from positions of often hardship to positions of bureaucratic ease, and consequently much sought after as army plums, are now gained:

"There is a vacancy, or is to be one, of a captaincy in the Quartermaster's Department. The scramble for the place commences months before the vacancy actually occurs. There are about 600 first lieutenants in the line of the army, aside from the temporary increase; 100 or more of them—sometimes 300, I am informed—are applicants for the place. . . .

"The applicants in these cases file briefs, giving their record, with letters from military officers, personal and political friends. These briefs are often printed pamphlets of many pages. The wives, mothers and sisters of the applicants in personal interviews appeal to the President and Secretary of War. This scramble to get out of the fighting branch of the army is, at least, unseemly. Of course, but little consideration is given to most of these applicants. Senator A or Representative B has a relative or constituent with powerful influence behind him, and he demands the appointment and gets it. The appointee has received a promotion of a grade, not upon merit, but by influence, and in doing it has jumped many of his fellow-officers quite as good or better than he.

"No system could be better calculated to kill ambition. The officer (he of the political pull) is certain of his future. He has his office and clerks in a city, for quite a part of his service is in Washington and other large cities. Except in times of great emergency he has regular office hours—none of the hardships of frontier posts and unhealthy climes, none of the labor and responsibility of commanding and training and caring for men. He and his family have all the advantages of good society and his children of schools. Of course, some of these men must become 'bureau-

ized.' to coin a word. But if they keep within the lines of military law, which is easy, they are safe in their positions."

THIS is what is often open to the officer, he of political pull, he is certain of his future. But the officer, he whose only claim to advancement, to transfer to the general staff is his record—he, with rare exceptions, waits in vain, sees his inferior in everything but political pull put over his head, advanced to position of ease, while he, as the reward of superior merit, is left to the position of hardship and exposure. Of the position he does not complain, if all took their turn with him he would have no excuse for complaint, but that some are so promoted that they escape such service entirely and get only service of ease, thus leaving to those who attend strictly to their business and not to the pulling of wires all the service of hardship, is cause for complaint. A system that makes possible a service of ease for some and a service of hardship for others is vicious. There should be no such division of service. As in the navy, so in the army each service, line service and staff service, as sea service and shore service, should fall equally to all officers. Besides, a bureaucratic staff is not fitted to direct a war, as was amply shown during the last summer. We want officers who know the needs of an army from practical and recent experience, not officers so bureauized as to figure out the needs at a desk by the rule of thumb. Yet just such bureauized officers are we now creating, and, as constituting the general staff, putting the army at the mercy of their management. A return of such men to the line, so that they might learn by experience the needs of the troops, the things needed for their welfare, their comfort, their efficiency, would be greatly to the advantage of such men and the service.

This was the burden of Senator Proctor's plea, and, the Hull bill not providing the remedy, this the ground of his objection to such bill. Be it remarked that Senator Proctor was Secretary of War under President Harrison's administration and as such was in position to feel and see the viciousness in the present system of army organization and staff appointments to which he now directs attention. Unfortunately, the compromise army bill finally agreed upon does not provide for the eradication of the evil in our system which Senator Proctor pointed out.

BUT to return to the situation in the Senate Committee on Military Affairs, when the Republican members, with the confident assurance of having the upper hand and resolving to report the Hull bill, were startled by the announcement that Senator Proctor could not be counted with them for such action. Angered were his Republican associates, but there was nothing for them but to make the best of the situation, and, agreeing with the Democrats to disagree, the Committee on Military Affairs reported the Hull bill to the Senate and also a Democratic substitute, both without recommendation. The vital difference between the Hull bill and Democratic substitute was not in size of the army authorized, for both authorized the keeping up of the army to the same numerical strength, but lay in the fact that the Hull bill authorized a permanent increase of the army, the substitute only a temporary. It was soon seen that the Hull bill, unless vitally amended, could not be passed, and so the shaping of a new measure began, finally resulting in the formulating of a measure on the general lines of the Democratic substitute, fathered by Senator Cockrell. So the Hull bill becomes in the Senate the Cockrell bill, and all who had part in its framing, Republicans and Democrats, profess their satisfaction with it. Those not consulted, and especially Congressman Hull, who saw his work mutilated and discarded, were not at all pleased; Democrats raised voices of protest, Mr. Hull and dissatisfied Republicans gulped down the compromise bill, not of their own motion, but because the Administration commanded, and, of course, imperialistic commands are to be respected by followers of imperialism.

THIS Cockrell army bill provides for the temporary continuation of our regular army upon the footing authorized for the war with Spain. That is, it authorizes the keeping up of this force to a maximum of a little short of 65,000 men until July 1st 1901. In addition thereto it authorizes the President to organize a force of 35,000 men, to be recruited either in the United States or in our new territorial acquisitions, and to be known as a volunteer army, though as a matter of fact such force would be just as much a part of the regular army of the United States as that part distinguished by the name of regulars. This force is by terms of the act to be disbanded on July 1, 1901 if, in the exercise of discretion given him, the President has not caused their earlier disbandment. So this act only provides for a temporary increase in the army and at the expiration of the period for which the increase is specifically authorized must, by the very terms of the act authorizing the increase, be cut down to ante bellum size.

As reported to the Senate the Cockrell bill did, indeed, provide for a permanent increase of the artillery branch of the service in connection with our coast defenses. To man these newly created defenses, to care for the new batteries, to look after these defenses generally, and they must be looked after, if deterioration, through want of care, is to be avoided, if their efficiency is to be kept up and the money spent upon them not wasted, a permanent increase in the regular army of 11,000 men was asked for, recognized by Senator Cockrell as wise and proper, and the bill reported to the Senate contains a provision for such increase. But Senator Gorman strenuously objected to this provision and it was stricken out. Therefore, unless new legislation is passed in the interim, the army of the United States now authorized to be increased up to 100,000 men must, on July 1, 1901, be reduced to 27,000. Of course this is but little more than a sentimental victory for those opposed to a large standing army, for no Congress in any event can bind another, this Congress could not authorize an increase in the army permanent in the sense that the next Congress could not undo it nor has this Congress by providing for the reduction of the army it now authorizes to a force of 27,000 men on July 1, 1901, done aught to prevent the next Congress making permanent, of course within Congressional limitations, the increase now authorized as temporary.

There is only one thing that will make possible the reduction of our army to 27,000 men two years hence and that is the abandonment of the policy of reaching out for dependencies, the policy of imposing our rule upon peoples without their consent, the policy that needs force to sustain. If we persist in this policy Congress will authorize a continuance of the army upon the footing now authorized after July 1, 1901. There will be no help for it. Indeed we will be lucky if we are not called upon to support an army even larger than that now authorized, as "temporary," for continuance of the policy that calls for an increase of the army will make the keeping up of such army a necessity. Make this policy of imposing our rule upon other peoples regardless of their wishes or interests, make this policy of holding peoples as subject races permanent and we will make a permanent increase in our army inevitable.

And a permanent increase in our army means a permanent increase in expenditures, a continuance of war taxes. Indeed as Worthington C. Ford, late chief of the Bureau of Statistics, Treasury Department, remarks, the annual appropriations will in the future be \$200,000,000 in excess of those for the fiscal year 1898, assuming that the War Department has asked sufficient for the mere occupation of the islands and the enlarged military establishment for police purposes and "an annual increased expenditure of \$200,000,000 means a continuance of war taxation, and an addition of new taxes, or borrowing by the government to meet current expenses of government."

THE report that Attorney-General Griggs had decided that the government could keep the volunteers in service until the

expiration of their full term of enlistment of two years, a term only binding, so volunteers thought, should the war for which they enlisted last so long, seems to have been erroneous or else he has changed his mind for now he is said to have rendered an opinion to the effect that upon the promulgation of peace all the volunteers as well as all the regulars above the ante bellum number of 27,000 must be discharged. This too did General Hawley very explicitly state in urging the passage of the army bill. "Pass no bill authorizing an increase in the army" he said "and upon the official promulgation of peace by the President the army of the United States will be abruptly reduced, by the limitations of the acts under which increase was provided for, to a force of 27,000." Further, this promulgation may be expected by the middle of March; by the terms of the Paris treaty it must be made by June. So for no reasons of state, no reasons based on a desire to give an extension to the acts authorizing the increase of the army for the Spanish war could such promulgation be greatly delayed. So argued Senator Hawley, so argued others, especially those supporting the Hull bill and opposed to all others.

This Hull bill was urged and all propositions based on temporarily continuing the force of the regular army at 62,000, by extending existing legislation, were opposed on the ground that these substitute propositions would give the government no protection against the mustering out of all troops, regulars and volunteers now in service, save 27,000 regulars, and that such mustering out of drilled troops, leaving their places to be filled with raw recruits, would cripple our military arm. And all this is very true. But how would the passage of the Hull bill have secured us against the possibility of such crippling? Under that bill or no other could we hold in service either regulars or volunteers who enlisted to serve during the war, and all of whom, Attorney General Griggs now admits, will be entitled to discharge on the promulgation of peace. By no law now passed can we deprive them of that right to discharge if they have it now, and Mr. Griggs says they have, as every layman who can read English and who may read the law will say. Between the United States and those troops there is a contract, and the United States as one party to that contract cannot change it without the consent of the other. The 30,000 or so regulars and the 75,000 or so volunteers who enlisted for the war, and who are still in service, will be entitled to discharge when peace is promulgated. After that they cannot be held in service without their consent; that is without they volunteer to continue in service. And if no new army bill had been passed it would not have been open to them to volunteer anew after discharge upon the promulgation of peace, for there is no old law on the statute books under which they could have enlisted, unless indeed it were to fill up any gaps existing in the regiments making up the permanent army of 27,000 regulars as authorized by the old law. Any bill authorizing an increase of the regular army, temporary or permanent, Hull bill or other, would equally open the way for keeping an army of trained soldiers. And of course the Cockrell bill opens this way. But be it borne in mind that such an army cannot be kept after the promulgation of peace, unless those now in service and entitled to discharge volunteer to continue in service, to enlist under such organization and such terms as may be provided. Of course the more acceptable the organization, the more liberal the offer the more likely is it to be availed of.

THERE is a well grounded report that President McKinley has outlined a plan for carrying out the declarations of Congress in regard to Cuba and for submission to General Gomez, the general outlines of which are these: First, the exact amount necessary to liquidate all outstanding obligations of the Cuban provisional government, inclusive of pay due to troops and civil officers, to be determined. It is not believed that more than \$20,000,000 will be required. Second, to raise this amount it is

proposed to issue Cuban bonds with an American guarantee, the Cubans first binding themselves to contract no other indebtedness without American consent. Third, until these bonds are paid the United States to administer the affairs of the custom houses, have general superintendence of all taxation, and manage all consular affairs, but otherwise the island to be free and independent. Fourthly, by payment of this debt the Cuban Government to have the right to rid itself entirely of American interference.

Such a proposition should, we think, commend itself to Gomez and other Cuban leaders, and its acceptance would bring tranquility to Cuba, liberty in internal affairs at once, liberty in all affairs as soon as the Cubans had requited their debt to us, not for the bills we incurred to free them from Spain, but for the advances made them to pay the expenditures incurred by themselves in their struggle. If this proposition is made, and we hope it may be, and accepted as it ought to be, an era of prosperity will open before Cuba, our troops be at once withdrawn, with the exception of small garrisons, and our task in regard to Cuba be happily accomplished, with the entrance of the Cuban Republic as a new and bright star in the galaxy of American republics, free and independent in all things, and sheltered from foreign aggression by the protecting arm of the United States, first extended almost eighty years ago.

And meanwhile we do wish that General Brooke would take care not to give offence to Cubans by any further display of officiousness or military punctiliousness. American dignity will suffer nothing by allowing Cubans to march first in their funeral processions. If left to arrange such matters according to their own good pleasure, we are sure they will show no lack of courtesy and respect to Americans who desire to officially participate; and if, in a vainglorious spirit, they do so far forget themselves as to offer indignity, Americans can easily escape such indignity by unostentatiously holding aloof. Nothing can be gained by acting towards Cubans in a supercilious manner, which is as much to say, "You owe everything you have, your liberties, to us—not yourselves." Nothing is to be gained by making one's self disagreeable, or rubbing in upon a people inferior in any way the fact. General Lee understands the Cubans better than General Brooke; he has had democratic training, and is not inculcated with the monarchical principles of militarism. And as militarism is but a passage to democracy in Cuba, General Lee would, by his training, be naturally more fitted for guiding the passage than General Brooke. Little things, such as his part in the funeral of General Garcia, show this. If he managed such affairs, they would end, not in heart burnings, but in closer ties of sympathy between Cuban and American people, increase in mutual esteem and regard. The reception accorded General Gomez by General Brooke, a reception conducted in the proper spirit, with a show of regard and friendliness, not of superciliousness, a reception of the kind that General Brooke cannot, unfortunately, be relied upon to accord, that we would confidently expect of General Lee as a matter of course, all goes to show this.

THE Nicaragua Canal bill has had many ups and downs during the past couple of weeks, the prospects of the measure being dampened and revived with kaleidesopic-like rapidity. The efforts to pass this measure well illustrate the legislative shortcuts so often availed of in the closing days of Congress, and by which legislation is passed and appropriations secured that would otherwise fail. The friends of the Nicaragua bill in the House, losing hope of securing consideration of the bill in regular order, made a desperate attempt to override the rules of the House and tack the measure on the Sundry Civil Appropriations bill as a rider. The sentiment of the House, strongly in favor of the measure, gave them hope. But Mr. Cannon, Chairman of

the House Committee on Appropriations, and who dashed the hopes that the friends of the measure had of securing consideration of the bill in regular order, was equally successful in opposing the effort to put through the measure as an amendment to an appropriation bill. And here let it be said that Mr. Cannon declares that he is not unfriendly to this great public work. But in his speech warning the House of the need of economy if heavier taxes or a bond issue are to be avoided, and to which we have elsewhere referred, he stated that Congress should not appropriate money for such a great and costly work as the Nicaragua Canal, appropriate in such a way as to make a deficit inevitable, without at the same time, in some way, providing means for meeting such appropriation. Furthermore, he declared that a bill of such importance should be given due and careful consideration such as it would be impossible for Congress to give at such late day in the session, and when its time must or ought to be fully occupied with the consideration of the appropriation bills.

To then tack such measure on to an appropriation bill and so pass it hastily, with a hurrah, without due consideration, he held, would be most indefensible, and he fought the effort successfully. And we must say our sympathies were with him in his fight, friendly to the building of the Nicaragua Canal and as a Government work as provided for by the House bill, as we are, for the practice of legislating by riders on appropriation bills is most baneful, and in the past when much practiced led to gross abuses—much vicious legislation that never could have been passed in regular order being slipped through in this hurried way. To guard against this the rules of the House provide that no amendment to an appropriation bill that is not germane, that proposes legislation or appropriating money for a work not authorized by existing law shall be in order, and on the point of order being made shall be ruled out. Now, all these points of order were made against the Nicaragua Canal rider by Mr. Cannon, sustained by the Chair, and when Mr. Hepburn appealed from the decision—trusting that the strong sentiment in favor of the canal would lead to an overriding of the rules—the House sustained the decision of the Chair. So the Nicaragua bill was buried in the House, only to be resurrected by the Senate, which body added the measure to the Rivers and Harbors Appropriation bill as an amendment. But the House, under the skillful management of Speaker Reed and others opposed to the canal, was not given a chance to vote directly on such amendment, kept from registering its approval, and, to save the Rivers and Harbors bill, the Senate was constrained to abandon the amendment. And so the Nicaragua bill was buried again—finally, so far as this Congress is concerned.

AN effort was also made in the House to authorize and provide for the construction of a Pacific cable under government ownership and management through a rider to the Sundry Appropriation bill, but defeated by the raising of the same points of order as raised against the consideration of the Nicaragua canal bill as an amendment to this same appropriation bill. But, as with the canal bill, the Senate revived the project adding it as an amendment to the Sundry Civil bill. It may here be remarked that by unanimous consent the House incorporates various bits of legislation into the appropriation bills and often of very foreign nature that would be ruled out if points of order were made against them. The Senate also is quite free in legislating after this manner, it not being bound by any hindering rules. Thus it is that it tacked the Nicaragua Canal bill on to one appropriation bill and a bill providing for the building of a cable to Hawaii upon another. Also was it believed for a few days that the Senate would be constrained to incorporate a provision on some appropriation bill authorizing the payment of \$20,000,000 to Spain to carry out our obligations under the peace treaty.

The Sundry Civil Appropriations bill as reported to the House carried such appropriation and though not at all germane to the bill no objection was anticipated. Some obscure Democrat did, however, make objection, the Chair ruled that the objection was well taken, the Republicans voted almost solidly to sustain the decision of the Chair, perhaps with the forethought that it would be convenient to invoke the same rule to shut out an amendatory declaration to the effect that in making the appropriation to pay Spain Congress did not do so with the purpose of acquiring the Philippines as a dependency, but that it was the intention of the United States to accord to those islands their independence, and that it was known Democrats as also a Republican, Mr. Gillett, of Massachusetts, purposed to offer. So the provision to pay Spain was struck out of the Sundry Civil bill and it was judged for a few days that it would be left for the Senate to put it back. But the initiative was again taken by the House passing a specific measure authorizing such payment, said measure being passed under suspension of the rules, the presentation of all embarrassing amendments being thus cut off. For be it understood that all measures brought up under suspension of the rules must be acted on after twenty minutes debate on a side and just as presented, all opportunity for amendment being shut off.

We would also remark that under the rules of the House the last six days of the short session are suspension days,—great days for the majority to hurry through bills without consideration, great days for winding up business, great days for measures with powerful backing, great days for jobs, often bad days for the country. One safeguard the rules of the House do, however, prescribe. To pass bills under suspension of the rules requires a two-thirds vote. But this is no effective safeguard, for the great danger at such times lies in the hurried passing of bills often innocent enough on their surface and upon which no one demands a roll call. Indeed a demand for a roll call at such time is a mighty unpopular move, causing much expenditure of time during which many bills in which members have a special interest might otherwise be passed and which, because of such expenditure of time, may be lost altogether through sheer inability to reach them.

WHEN the effort to force consideration of the Nicaragua bill as an amendment to an appropriation bill failed in the House an effort was made to secure unanimous consent for fixing a day for taking up the bill as an independent measure. But Mr. Cannon, though expressing friendliness to the measure, objected, basing much of his opposition to the consideration of the bill at this session of Congress on the ground of insufficiency of revenue, declaring that the revenues were not sufficient to warrant the making of any such extraordinary appropriation as contemplated in that bill. Yet Secretary Gage urges that the time is opportune for pressing the plans of currency reform based upon the principle of retiring greenbacks and Treasury notes whenever presented for redemption in gold. In other words, these propositions of currency reform that Mr. Gage urges contemplate the paying off of the greenbacks and Treasury notes as fast as presentation should be made for redemption, a presentation that would be regulated entirely by the needs or even the whims of the holders of the \$450,000,000 of these notes. And for this payment Congress, if adopting such plans, such monetary policy, would have to make provision. If the revenues of the country are not sufficient to warrant the making of an appropriation (\$115,000,000) to build the Nicaragua Canal they are certainly not sufficient to warrant the adoption of plans of monetary reform that would oblige the country to four times the amount.

Mr. Gage, however, may be counting on some other source than revenues for keeping the Treasury in funds sufficient to carry out his plans. He may be counting on borrowing. And power to borrow he has, not only the power that Mr. Cleveland

and Mr. Carlisle claimed when they issued some \$262,000,000 of bonds on four different occasions, but power conferred by the War Revenue and Bond act. That act authorized the issue of \$400,000,000 of bonds, and under that act \$200,000,000 have been issued. That authority, however, may be considered as lapsed, and at any rate money could not be borrowed under such act for the general purposes of the Treasury and to meet appropriations made since the war, for that act specifically stated that the proceeds of the sale of such bonds should be used "to defray expenditures authorized on account of existing war." But there was a second power to borrow conferred at the same time, and that has not lapsed, that is continuous, the power to keep outstanding 3 per cent. certificates of indebtedness to an amount not in excess of \$100,000,000. In other words the Secretary possesses continuing power to borrow money so as to anticipate revenues at all times to an amount of \$100,000,000.

As to the exact situation in the Philippines we are not a little in the dark. The telegraphic dispatches we get from Manila are rigorously censored, and some dispatches given out from Washington read much as if prepared with a view to their influence upon public opinion. In short, many dispatches do not bear the stamp of honesty on their face. This is markedly so of a dispatch ostensibly sent by General Otis, and outlining a Filipino plot for the massacre of all Americans in Manila. The dispatch purports to give the words of a general order of incendiarism and massacre issued by "an important officer of the insurgent government at Malolos." But if General Otis had received a copy of this order why did he not give the name of the "important insurgent officer" issuing it? Why did he not cable this name? Either he knows it not, had not the general order—that setting forth the plot and which he transmitted—or the officer issuing it held such an irresponsible place or minor grade that the naming of him would have detracted from the importance of the dispatch and weakened the impression that such dispatch was calculated to make on the American public. It may be, however, that the dispatch as given out was remodelled at Washington for political purposes, and, indeed, it must be said that the country is coming to lose faith in the news given out at Washington or passing through official hands. "Official" is no longer to be accepted as a guarantee of reliability. All cable dispatches filed at Manila are openly censored for political reasons, and we cannot doubt the official reports sent to Washington, are, if not withheld from the public altogether, rewritten with a free hand before being given out.

BUT one more word as to the authenticity of the order of incendiarism and massacre reported by General Otis to have been issued "by an important officer of the insurgent government." In the first place, it must be said that such reported order does not at all accord with the previous utterances of "important Filipinos" or with their actions. Doubtless, Filipinos have made free use of the torch, but in such use of the torch they are not alone, and we do not regard the burning of Filipino villages by our troops as at all out of accord with the usages of civilized warfare. True, we do not judge the Filipinos in the same mould. In their hands the torch is not a justifiable weapon of war, in our hands it is. In the dispatches dealing with the last assault on Manila we read these items: "To form cover for their attack, many of the rebels burned their own homes." This was incendiarism. But: "In repelling the attack, it was necessary for our troops to burn the huts for several miles, and the fire was terrific." This was military necessity.

Now we do not complain of those in command of our troops applying the torch. It is war, and war! well, war—to borrow the inelegant but graphic phrase of General Sherman,—is hell. But it is unreasonable to mark down the Filipinos as conducting

uncivilized warfare when they are conducting themselves in the matter of burning just as we are. But when we burn it is military necessity, when "rebels" burn it is incendiarism, and those caught in the act ought to be summarily executed. For our troops to burn to repel an attack is justifiable as a military necessity, we grant it, for Filipinos to burn their own houses to cover an assault is, to our mind, not only justifiable, but heroic.

AND now as to some of the proclamations issued by the Filipinos. Naturally they are couched in language somewhat abusive and yet we opine scarce so abusive as that our imperialists apply to them. Again it may be that in such proclamations the truth is distorted, our troops libelled. But this is but natural in those incited by the passions of war. And then can anyone recall a Filipino proclamation so abusive, so replete with slander as that issued by the Archbishop of Manila at the outbreak of our war with Spain? And yet because of such proclamation we do not now class the Spanish as uncivilized however we may have been inclined at the time.

But let us see the nature of the proclamation issued by General Aguinaldo shortly after the promulgation by General Otis of the President's proclamation to the Filipinos declaring our ownership, absolute, of the Philippine islands and the people thereof by right of conquest and purchase from Spain and promising those people just government, we, not they, to be the judges, if they would comport themselves as our submissive subjects. And by the side of this message of the President, this message giving to the Filipinos the choice between abject submission and war, between liberty and peace, we declare the answer of Aguinaldo stands forth in much the brighter light, is much the worthier.

Seeking liberty for his people and feeling war to be inevitable he yet sought to avoid it. "My government" he said "does not disavow that the destruction of the Spanish squadron and the delivery of certain rifles from the arsenal to my people influenced in a certain manner the progress of our arms. I am convinced that the American forces have sympathy with a revolution that they have contributed to, and that has not been marked by much bloodshed or great fatigues, and, above all, I have absolute confidence in the history and traditions of a people who fought for their independence and for the abolition of slavery, and who present themselves as the champion liberator of those people who are oppressed."

Then he detailed the refusal of the American Generals to live up to the traditions of their race, their refusal to recognize his government, their persistence in treating the Filipinos as a conquered race, and their demands that the Filipino troops be withdrawn from certain positions of tactical advantage that they held. "But," says Aguinaldo in this proclamation, "desirous always of demonstrating friendship and good sentiments to those who were said to be liberators of the Filipino people, my troops did evacuate the port of Cavite, the suburbs of Ermita, Malate, Sampaloc and Tondo, holding only a part of the suburb of Paco.

"I acceded to the amicable instances of General Otis, retiring my forces to the lines as he requested, with the object of avoiding any contact with his men, hoping that, once the conference in Paris was concluded, my people would obtain the independence promised by the Consul General at Singapore, Mr. Pratt, a promise that was formally granted and proclaimed in manifestos and discourses by the American Generals that have arrived on these shores.

"But it was not so. These generals took my concessions in favor of peace and friendship as signs of weakness."

The proclamation then refers to these Generals sending the expedition to Iloilo, "with the object of gaining the title of conquerors to that part of the Philippines," and sets forth how he supplicated General Otis to desist, but in vain, that general refusing absolutely to treat with him. And then he concludes:

"My government is not able to remain permanently indifferent, in view of the usurpation, violent and aggressive, on a part of its territory by a people entitled champions of oppressed people, so that it is disposed to open hostilities if the American forces intend to bring to a head by force the occupation of the Visayas."

This proclamation we do not scorn; to the cheeks of the honest American it is not calculated to bring the blush of anger, but of shame.

Would that such a charge could not be brought against the American Republic with any show of justice. Would that the American people rise in their might and repudiate those who drag in the bloody wake of imperialism and covetousness the fair name of the Republic—the name standing for liberty, for equality, for the right of self-government. And in time we believe the American people will so rise.

THE report of the President's War Commission fell flat. No one took it seriously. From the very beginning everyone of not impenetrable partisan bias regarded the commission as a body not putting forth its best efforts to uncover and expose the blunders of the War Department but to gloss them over. The manner in which the commission conducted its investigations, the members doing their best to discredit, break down the evidence of those who had anything out of the way to report, any charges to make, as if they were so many attorneys hired for the defense of the War Department, strengthened men in this opinion which the final report of the commission did nothing to remove. The beef scandal the commission dismissed as baseless, declaring ostentatiously that there was no proof before the commission "that boric, or salicylic or any other acid had been used in the canned meats furnished the government." But who said it was? It was in the refrigerated beef that these acids were detected, and ample proof there is that such deleterious acids had been used by the beef packers for preservation of the beef supplied the army. The complaint about the canned beef was that it was to begin with non-nutritious, consisting of the refuse beef from which various meat extracts had been taken. In other words it was charged that out of this canned beef all the nourishing qualities had been taken, that much of this beef was spoiled and sickening when issued to the troops. But contenting itself with a superficial inquiry, and the testing of a can of beef that no doubt good care was taken should be above reproach, the commission glossed all these charges over as quite baseless declaring the beef supplied the army was good, though thousands of soldiers, commissioned officers and in the ranks, and to whom the beef had been issued, were ready to testify that it was not, that it was unfit for human food. And finally the President himself throws discredit upon the report of his own commission by appointing a military court of inquiry to inquire into the beef charges of General Miles, to see what truth if any there is in the charges that the commissioned declared baseless. And before this court of inquiry General Egan is called and referring to the clause written in the beef contracts to the effect that if, proper care being taken of it, the beef should spoil in less than seventy-two hours after being taken from the refrigerators the contractors should stand the loss, innocently remarks that this clause was inserted at his instance "after the concerns declared they could prepare it so as to keep that long." The pertinent query is: How did they prepare it?

PRESIDENT FAURE was one of those mediocre men who have won high worldly position but failed to make a place for themselves in history, do aught to cause their names to be remembered by generations unborn. As President of France Faure held a position that shed lustre on him; he brought not greatness to his position. On the history of his nation he has left no

impress; no great act, good or bad, no deed for the uplifting or trampling down of mankind, adding honor or disgrace, weakness or disgrace to his nation, stands forth as a monument to his memory. He was one whose name, because of the place he held, may be written on the scroll of history, but having done nothing worthy of remembrance, history cannot keep his name bright in the years to come. On parchment his name may be preserved but in the memory of those to come it will hold no place. As Franklin said, if "ye would be remembered do something worth the writing or write something worth the reading." Faure did neither, his name will be forgotten, for place in history he made none. Yet this is only to say that Faure failed to immortalize his memory, and there are few rulers of nations, actual or mere figureheads, of which this cannot be said.

Faure was a stickler for ceremony, he wrapped the Presidency around with all the airs of a court; though he had crept up the ladder from the bottom he was a President with monarchical instincts. But content to occupy himself with the small affairs of life, with the spectacular, with the mimicry of royalty, he worked out his monarchical ideas only in the bounds of his court. Beyond these narrow limits he gave them no play; if he had he might have made a name for himself in history, even though an unhonored one, but he was not a man of vast range of vision, but of circumscribed, of littleness not greatness, the man of the stamp who shrinks from innovations, not of the boldness that hesitates not at risks, dangers in a leap for power.

The sudden death of Faure naturally gave birth to rumors of Bonapartist and Orleanist plots. If ever the followers of these pretenders were to strike, why not now? But the opportunity, if opportunity it was, offered by Faure's death and consequent unrest that it made, passed unavailed of. Perhaps it was because of the very suddenness with which it was presented that it was unavailed of, that it found the pretenders unprepared to strike. At any rate, the crisis passes, revolution is not precipitated, there is no disturbance worth noting, Faure's successor is quietly elected, steps into the place so suddenly made vacant, and one cannot but think that Republican institutions in France, in spite of Dreyfus scandal, in spite of the worship of militarism and the degradation of the civil power before it, rests on solid foundations than has been credited, even by well wishers of the Republic. And in the new President, Loubet, liberal, and to whom no suspicion of corruption or corruptibility clings, we get back to democratic simplicity. *Vive la Republique Francaise!*

THE PRESIDENT AND OUR PHILIPPINE POLICY.

PRESIDENT MCKINLEY'S latest announcement or rather defence of his imperialistic policy, for which opportunity was offered by the annual dinner of the Home Market Club in Boston, which he attended to expound a policy which finds its support in the exaltation of the value of foreign markets to an extent that leads men to overlook the manifold greater value of home markets, is so strikingly superficial and evidently insincere that we scarce know how to characterize it save as hypocritical cant. Think of the President seriously speaking of the Filipinos as freed and enfranchised by the ratification of the peace treaty, proclaiming that we are "making them feel and know that we are their friends, not their enemies," by forsooth, shooting them full of holes because they refuse to recognize our authority over them as unquestioned and place their fortunes absolutely in our hands, acknowledging that they have as men no rights, that all rights that they may hereafter enjoy must descend from us, indeed be regarded as privileges for which they owe us thanks, not as rights at all.

The President sentimentally declared that after the war we had but one alternative as to the Philippines. "There was but one alternative, and that was either Spain or the United States in the

Philippines. The other suggestions—first, that they should be tossed into the arena of contention for the strife of nations; or second, be left to the anarchy and chaos of no protectorate at all—were too shameful to be considered. The treaty gave them to the United States."

But the treaty gave us but a right to the Philippines that we had encouraged the Filipinos to deny. And why was not the alternative open to us of granting to the Philippines their independence? Because it would have meant anarchy and chaos! But where is there now anarchy and chaos in the Philippines? On the fields trampled by American troops sent to assert our claim that Filipinos have no right to govern themselves. And where is there order, as good order as there has ever been? In the territory owing allegiance to the provisional government, recognizing the authority of the Parliament or Congress installed at Malolos, policed by Filipino troops. By insisting on the submission of Filipinos to our rule, by denying them a right for which they fought against Spain, for which we encouraged them to fight, yet which we now deny them at the cannon's mouth, we have brought chaos into those islands, not order.

The President goes on to brush away all arguments built on the doctrine of the consent of the governed by the assertion that we cannot now ask their consent. "Indeed, can any one tell me in what form it could be marshaled and ascertained until peace and order, so necessary to the reign of reason, can be secured and established? A reign of terror is not the kind of rule under which right action and deliberate judgment are possible."

But we could have given Filipinos the assurance that our military occupancy was but of a temporary character, that when peace and order were restored so that the sense of the people could be taken, their consent asked, that we purposed to recognize such government as might be the free choice of the people of those islands. If we had given this assurance there would have been no bloodshed in the Philippines where, says the President, "every red drop, whether from the veins of an American soldier or a misguided Filipino is anguish to my heart." But this anguish the President could have avoided if he had but been true to the principles of liberty, and recognized those principles to be no less applicable to Filipinos than Americans. And finally where is there now a reign of terror in the Philippines? Is it not where American troops seeking to force the submission of the Filipinos have carried it? It is nowhere else. To this our own officers who have travelled into the interior of the island of Luzon bear witness.

Finally, says the President, the government of the Philippines is a thing that we must leave to the future. "No one can tell to-day what is best for them or us. I know no one at this hour who is wise enough or sufficiently informed to determine what form of government will best subserve their interests and our interests, their and our well being." But why not accord to the Filipinos the right to determine for themselves the form of government that in their wisdom, their knowledge, will best subserve their interests? It is a right that we once claimed for ourselves, that George III., claiming in his superior wisdom to know what was better for our interests and his interests than we ourselves, denied. Why now should we essay the role of George the Third?

Meanwhile our army at Manila is virtually besieged. All supplies are shut off from that metropolitan city of the Philippines from the land side by the besieging hosts, for such, indeed, are Aguinaldo's troops. Water communication is alone open. By water must be brought the supplies, not only for our army, but to feed the non-combatants within our lines, possibly 400,000. Not to the fertile soil of the Philippines can that city now look for its food; it must look to Hong Kong, the mart of the East, to Australia. Consequently food prices advance; next the necessities of life will be beyond the reach of thousands; next the teeming population of Manila and environs will have to be fed at Uncle Sam's expense.

The prospect is not at all pleasing. Washington tells us that no further aggressive movements on the part of our troops are at present contemplated. The truth is, our army is not in sufficient force to make safe any forward movement, any further extension of our lines. Already have our lines been extended in a semi-circle around Manila, the wings resting upon the bay, and supported by Dewey's ships, to a length of twenty-five miles, and to hold these lines we have at most not 20,000 effective men. And such lines are thin. No doubt is felt that such lines can be held, but to further extend them with our present force would be to invite disaster. Hence, the arrival of reinforcements is awaited before a forward movement is initiated. We fear we will hear this heart-sinking tale, awaiting reinforcements, oft retold during the immediate future. Further, the rainy season is upon us, and the rainy season means not only the unhealthy season, but when the rice fields are flooded with water, when the country is practically a sea, when movements of troops are out of the question.

The severe chastisements inflicted upon the Filipinos have not served to cow them in spirit. They hang doggedly and in force in front of our lines, more aggressors than attacked. Such is the enemy that confronts us; not the enemy easily disheartened, but the enemy full of spirit. True, it is said that, with supplies of ammunition shut off, they will soon be unable to offer effective resistance; that they will have to submit. But they are not so helpless, not so dependent upon the outside world, as some would have us believe. One cartridge factory they have in their control that alone employs between four and five hundred hands, and that is said to be now in full operation. Besides, the selling of arms and ammunition to Filipinos is a lawful traffic, subjecting those who engage in it to no penalty, save confiscation of the contraband articles—if they can be captured. This we have ourselves held—held that our citizens had a perfect right to sell and ship arms to the Cuban insurgents, so long as they did not send men along with such arms to use them, to make war upon Spain. A sharp distinction was drawn between the mere shipping of arms and of organized expeditions, filibustering, so called, to Cuba. And the coast line of the Philippines is such that we will find the interception of shipments of arms to the Filipinos no easy matter. The chances of success will be so good that men will not be wanting to take the risk.

In short, we see before us in the Philippines no easy task if we persist in our present policy. We see not a mere "military expedition." We see long drawn out, costly and bloody war, and, in the end, a people fired against us—sullen, resentful—whom we can only rule by force and with no profit to ourselves or them.

But such being the situation confronting us, what would we do? We would make honorable terms with the Filipinos in arms against us, not haughtily tell them that they must make abject submission, put themselves absolutely at our mercy before we will treat with them, and that then we will treat with them as individuals, not as a people; as individuals who—by their acts, their shots for liberty, their "rebellion"—have forfeited the right to live and who must accept the boon of life, escape from the hangman's noose after submission, not as a right, but as a mark of our benignity and forgiveness of spirit. We would give these people to understand that we would act as liberators, not as conquerors; that we do not purpose to rule over them against their will; that, if our presence is undesired, we shall withdraw so soon as they may have established a government capable of doing and rendering justice, not alone to the people of the islands, but alien residents, and who now reside under our protection. This would we do. Thus would we re-establish honorable peace. Thus would we raise the siege of Manila and thereafter work in co-operation with the Filipinos for the upbuilding of a free republic, not as their enemies. As far as we could we would erase the memory of the past four weeks—make amends for the ill

that has been done. It is said that we cannot do this; that it would be demeaning to acknowledge ourselves wrong. But it is a false pride that raises opposition on this score. To render justice is not dishonorable; to show the greatness of spirit to acknowledge blunder and repair past wrong is not belittling. Nor by such acts would we be belittled in our own eyes or the eyes of the world. Militant rulers might open their eyes in wonder at the non use of might to trample upon right, but we would win an exalted place in the opinion of mankind—of the great masses of people everywhere who have been the under dogs—whose rights to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness have been denied by those possessed of might.

IMPERIALISM AND THE NATIONAL FINANCES.

IN OUR last issue we took occasion to direct attention to the condition of the national Treasury, to the fact that outgo far exceeds income, that if a halt is not called the Fifty-sixth Congress will, when it meets in regular session in December next, be face to face with the disagreeable necessity of imposing more taxes or witnessing a further bond issue to keep the Treasury off the shoals of bankruptcy. And the water under the keel is shoaling very fast, at the rate of \$10,000,000 a month, and this can only be kept up for about a twelvemonth before there comes a grating on the sacred gold reserve that must not be touched for other purpose than the redemption of greenbacks and Treasury notes. True, it was even thus that Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Carlisle regarded the gold reserve, and yet got deftly round the restrictions they put upon themselves as to its use in the way of meeting ordinary disbursements of the government by using the greenbacks, etc., redeemed with such gold for such disbursements, and then, under an antiquated statute of twenty-five years' standing, borrowing gold to replace that used for redemption. In this way they provided for the necessities of the government by borrowing without admitting it to themselves or the people.

Now President McKinley and Secretary Gage may look upon this gold reserve just as did their illustrious predecessors, but as Republicans they cannot follow them in this policy of providing for the necessities of the government without loss of much political prestige, for it is this very policy of Mr. Cleveland that Republicans vehemently assailed, laying at its door all the currency ills that then disturbed the country. Therefore we do not look for any following of such policy by the present Administration, especially as it has other means at hand, the issue of 3 per cent. certificates of indebtedness up to an amount of \$100,000,000, and as authorized by the war act, to tide over a Treasury deficit. But that Mr. Gage looks upon the hundred million gold reserve as a fund available for the general purposes of the government is not to be supposed. Consequently we may, so far as the present Administration is concerned, consider that gold reserve eliminated from the cash balance of the government. President Harrison and Mr. Foster so considered it when they held up government accounts in the last months of their administration because there was no money in the Treasury outside of the gold reserve with which to pay them. And rather than infringe on this reserve they allowed government bills to go unpaid upon presentation. Indeed they acted as if firm in the conviction that they had no right to use that fund for government expenses. And likewise did Mr. Cleveland and his Secretary of the Treasury, Mr. Carlisle, regard this fund. Mr. Cleveland was very particular to insist, in his messages to Congress, that the gold reserve was never depleted during his administration to meet government expenditures; that at no single time preceding the several bold issues of his administration was there not an ample working cash balance in the Treasury exclusive of the gold reserve. It is true that such ample cash balances were, during the latter part of his

administration, the product of previous bond issues, greenbacks and Treasury notes being redeemed with gold, the proceeds of those bond issues, and then such greenbacks, etc., used as part of the available cash balance of the government, as indeed they must be under the law. But any direct draft upon that gold reserve to meet the expenditures of the government he deemed unwarranted.

Yet as a part of the available cash balance of the government this gold reserve is duly counted. We can only add that while the Treasury is under present direction it is not available at all. The \$100,000,000 of gold around which an imaginary line is drawn in the Treasury, and setting it off as a gold reserve, is looked upon by present Treasury officials just as if segregated from the general cash balance by law. So the real cash balance in the Treasury was not, March 1st, \$269 millions but \$169 millions. Indeed in the Treasury statements the "net cash balance" is written as \$169,000,000. Moreover, of this balance from twelve to fifteen millions consists of fractional coin and disbursing officers' balances which are of necessity more or less fixed figures. So the available cash balance is really no more than \$155,000,000 and in this is included the fund deposited with the government by the national banks, and as required by law, to secure the prompt redemption of their currency. When a bank retires its currency the government must return such deposit. Consequently such fund is a liability of the government but by act of 1890 it is counted as an asset. It amounts to five per cent. of the bank circulation secured by deposits of bonds and amounts to about nine millions. But as the Treasury can not be called upon to pay out this fund unless the law be changed requiring the banks to keep such deposit, or unless they curtail their circulation which under the law as it now stands they can only do very gradually and by slow degrees, this fund may be regarded as a deposit that cannot be called for and so safe to bank upon and treat as an asset of the government. Therefore we leave this out of account.

So there is at present a nest egg in the Treasury of \$155,000,000, and this seems like a very large nest egg. Indeed it is, but we are living so much beyond our income that it will not be a twelvemonth, unless we economize or increase our income by laying new burdens on the backs of our people, before this nest egg has diminished to such alarmingly small proportions that the spectre of a bare and bankrupt Treasury will loom up before our people in such a way as to warn us that action must at once be taken to avert the danger. And this action must be piling on our people more taxes or more bonds, for expenditure will then be contracted for such as cannot be avoided, and will, therefore, put immediate escape by the way of cutting down expenditures beyond our reach.

To this we directed attention in our last issue, and it so happened that while we were penning such lines Congressman Cannon was sounding a note of warning in the House of Representatives. Since the death of Mr. Dingley Mr. Cannon is perhaps, as chairman of the Appropriations Committee, the most prominent Republican on the floor of the House. Further, he is in friendly accord with the all-powerful man of the House, the guiding hand of legislation, Speaker Reed. Therefore his warning carries more significance than if sounded by any other member of the House. He recalled that Mr. Gage estimated the deficit for the current fiscal year at \$112,000,000, but he declared there would be great expenditures that Mr. Gage did not make any allowance for and could not have foreseen when he made his estimates, such as the payment of \$20,000,000 to Spain under the terms of the treaty of peace. Indeed the deficit for the first seven months of the fiscal year was \$93,151,000, and if the deficit should keep up for the balance of the year at such rate Mr. Cannon pointed out that it would amount to no less than \$159,000,000. Now, of course, the first part of the fiscal year included two months during which we were at war with Spain, and when deficits were very large. And all this went to swell the deficit for the first seven months of the

year to the above figure of \$93,000,000, or an average of over \$13,000,000 a month. The expenditures have been so cut down since the signing of the peace protocol that the monthly deficits now fall considerably under this average, and some find reason for hoping that the deficits will be still further reduced during the remaining months of the year. But with our military operations in the Philippines, and an army on the present scale, which there seems to be much aversion to decreasing, there is little hope that expenditures can be so cut down as to further diminish the deficits. And this is without taking into account the payment of \$20,000,000 to Spain. With this payment Mr. Cannon believed deficits would average quite as much during the last five months of the fiscal year as the first seven, and, therefore, he thought that an estimate of a deficit of \$159,000,000 for the full fiscal year would be reasonable. Ninety-nine millions of this estimated deficit has already been incurred and met by drafts upon the Treasury. If the estimate of Mr. Cannon proves correct, however, there will be a further draft upon the Treasury during the balance of the fiscal year and in excess of receipts of no less than \$60,000,000. The net cash balance on the first of the new fiscal year, July 1st next, would then be but \$108,000,000.

But this is not all. Mr. Cannon had no cheerful picture to paint of the coming fiscal year. He pointed out that Mr. Gage estimated expenditures for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1899, at \$641,000,000 and revenues at \$611,000,000, both inclusive of the postal service, estimates which put postal expenditures at about \$106,000,000 and postal receipts at a round hundred millions. This leaves estimated ordinary receipts of \$511,000,000 which, as Mr. Cannon, we may accept without question—though it may be here remarked that as the result of the recent settlement of the debt of the Central Pacific Railroad to the government the Treasury has come into possession of an available asset of \$58,000,000 in the shape of twenty-three per cent. notes of equal amounts, one of which notes is made payable every six months so that all will fall due within a period of ten years and which notes could doubtless be converted into cash during the coming year if desired and so be made to swell cash receipts. Indeed the four of these notes of earliest due day have, we understand, already been sold and thus converted into cash. But this \$58,000,000 must be looked upon not as an ordinary receipt but in the nature of a windfall and it is rather expected Congress will have some special use for it, say put it aside for the building of the Nicaragua canal. Therefore we must leave this out of account and build on Mr. Gage's estimates of revenues for the coming fiscal year, say, exclusive of estimated postal receipts, \$511,000,000. Of course such estimated receipts are based on present revenue laws.

Now, as a general thing, estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury call for more money than Congress appropriates, and Congress appropriates more money than is actually spent. Indeed, by law, the Secretary of the Treasury is directed to make up his estimates in such a way as to make this inevitable under ordinary circumstances. Thus, in his estimates, he must include the full estimates of the different departments and bureaus of the government made on a basis of requirements to carry out such work as they would like to be authorized to undertake. Thus, there are submitted estimates for river and harbor improvements and for fortifications on a scale that Congress is not expected to authorize. It is only natural that those having such work in hand and desiring to push it as rapidly as possible should make such estimates, especially as men are prone to act on the assumption that to get what one wants one must ask more than one expects. So the appropriations that Congress makes for the carrying on of such work invariably fall much short of the estimates. Thus, the estimates this year for carrying on the work of coast fortifications were \$12,000,000, while little more than one-third of this sum is carried by the appropriation bill

passed by Congress. The great advantage of requiring the Secretary of the Treasury to submit estimates to the House after this manner is that it enables members to pose before their constituents as economical Congressmen, for it gives every opportunity for Congress to cut under the estimates.

The further fact that appropriations invariably exceed actual expenditures of course arises from the fact that no money can be paid out of the Treasury that is not appropriated and that other moneys appropriated for public works, etc., are only paid out as such work progresses. Consequently when that work goes on less rapidly than expected, which is invariably the case, the moneys appropriated are not all used within the calculated period. And so are appropriations made in one year dragged out in the spending over several, and as said appropriations are progressively increasing from year to year this necessarily makes appropriations exceed expenditures. Again, many things appropriated for may be gotten for less money than is appropriated for their purchase, and again for sundry reasons items carried in appropriation bills may not be spent at all. Of course there are many things for which money is spent under appropriation which the appropriations made fail to cover in full, but in that event excess of cost must be provided for in special or general deficiency appropriation bills. As an inevitable result expenditures always fall under the appropriations made by Congress, usually about 5 per cent., while Congressional appropriations may be roughly said to fall under Treasury estimates in about the same proportion.

But this year there are extraordinary conditions confronting us that set aside all ordinary rules. Secretary Gage estimated for an increase of about \$100,000,000 as required for our military establishment. But with our troubles in the Philippines this seems too small. Again his estimates did not include anything on account of the new naval construction authorized by the present Congress and that probably will call for fifteen millions or thereabouts in the coming fiscal year. Besides, by the treaty with Spain the United States becomes responsible for all claims held by Americans against Spain on account of property destroyed in Cuba during the late insurrection and which amount to at least \$25,000,000. And so Mr. Cannon asserted his belief that the estimates of the Secretary of the Treasury showing a deficiency for the coming fiscal year of \$30,000,000 will be under the fact not over, that such deficiency will reduce the net cash balance in the Treasury to as low a point as it can be reduced without obligating Congress to replenish it by imposing new taxes or authorizing a bond issue and he warned Congress that any extraordinary appropriations for such works as the building of the Nicaragua Canal or the carrying out of the provisions of the proposed ship subsidy bill would make a bond issue or the imposing of new taxes inevitable. And all this is true, but the way to cut off is not by postponing a work of such great utility as the Nicaragua Canal and that would add wealth and power to the nation, but by calling a halt in the work of subjugating the Philippines, a work that must be vastly expensive and that if successful will add not to the wealth of our people, not to the strength of the nation but be a source of weakness.

Some indeed say that the Philippines can be made a gold mine to the United States, that they can be taxed so as to cover all the costs of their administration, all the costs that we may incur upon their account, and contribute to the imperialistic treasury. Indeed the imperialistic organs, forgetting our pledges to give Cuba independence, build around that island the same expectations, the expectation of shouldering off some of our burdens upon the shoulders of peoples whom we may hold subject. Thus says the New York *Herald*: "It is evident that the island (Cuba) is more than able to take care of herself, and should in time become as great a gold mine to the United States, under just and equitable rule, as it was to Spain under conditions which sapped the very life and sustenance of the people."

We commend this to those expansionists who disclaim imperialistic ideas, who disclaim the fathering of the idea of taking the islands to lay tribute on the people thereof for our profit, for never was there more imperialistic declaration than this.

But the great reason advanced for taking the Philippines is that it will open the way to the extension of our trade. Into this we need not go here, we need only recall the examination we made of this contention in our last issue, and showing that profitable trade cannot be built by force, that a great market for our goods is not to be found in the Orient, among a people who can make for themselves everything they want cheaper than we can supply them. What pursuit of our imperialistic policy in the Philippines means is this: More taxes, more bonds, no more trade.

STOPPAGE OF GOLD IMPORTS.

ALTHOUGH the flow of gold towards the United States was continuous during the year 1898 it roughly divides itself into two periods; twice the stream being swollen to very considerable figures, twice shrinking away to inconsiderable proportions. In the spring months gold imports ran at an average of almost a million a day. In June and July the flow so fell off that the net imports of gold during those two months came to no more than three millions all told. But in August the flow of gold increased again and continued rising in September and October, some \$42,000,000 of gold being imported in those months in excess of exports. With October, however, the inward flow of gold underwent great diminution. In November and December imports of gold were comparatively small, in January the flow of gold underwent further shrinkage and with February came a practical stoppage of the flow. Exchange has so risen that it is no longer profitable to import gold. And exchange has risen because there has come an increased demand for exchange in order to make remittance to Europe for things bought, a good portion of these things being our own debts, securities of our railroads, etc., bought back from European holders who in the past invested in them.

Our exports are large, phenomenally large, and against the produce we ship abroad bills of exchange are drawn. Consequently there is a great supply of these bills offered to the bankers who make a business of dealing in foreign exchange. But of late there has been a great increase in the bills drawn by foreigners against things sold to us and sent to these bankers for collection. That there has been such increase means, of course, that there has been an increase in the aggregate value of the things sold us by foreigners. This increase has been, to a small degree, due to increased sales of merchandise, but in the larger proportion to sales of securities. So it is that though the supply of bills offered our foreign exchange bankers has been unusually large the demand made upon them has of late been much increased. And so it is that exchange has risen until there is no longer a profit in importing gold and a stoppage been put to such importation.

Since October the New York banks have expanded their loans by over \$110,000,000 and two-thirds of such advances, at the very least, have been upon stock exchange collateral. In other words loans made on stock exchange securities have increased by \$70,000,000 in little more than four months. And why these increased loans? They have not been made on the same securities that were in the street last October and then in use as collateral for stock exchange loans. Nor, if we can trust the assertions of stock brokers, have they been made on the securities of newly launched trusts or securities previously locked up by the American investing public and thrown on the market, for we are told that there has been greater buying than selling by this

public so that the net result, so far as the American public is concerned, has been to take securities off the market, take them off brokers' and speculators' hands who had been borrowing money on them and so make possible a paying off of loans. But instead of seeing any reduction in the loans of New York banks and on stock exchange securities we see an increase of \$70,000,000. Clearly this means that our brokers and their speculative customers who borrow money of the banks to carry what they buy have bought \$70,000,000 worth of securities more than they have sold, that there are \$70,000,000 more of securities being carried than before, that these securities and also securities to fill the places of those said to have been taken off the market by American investors and in excess of the new issues of securities put upon the markets, must have come from Europe.

It is this return and sale of securities, a sale that has supplied European bankers with a means of offsetting the bills drawn upon them against exports of American merchandise, that has put a stop to gold imports. Be it here remarked that every dollar's worth of American produce sold abroad makes a dollar's worth of exchange that the European bankers who make a business of settling foreign exchanges must pay, and if they cannot pay it by offsetting it with exchange drawn upon Americans against sales of merchandise or securities and which we may buy, or with exchange they may purchase from American travelers or draw against interest payments, etc., such bankers, unless they choose and find it possible to borrow of Americans through their American agents, must export gold in settlement of the balances. It is very clear that if these European bankers can buy exchange drawn against sale of merchandise and securities in America to an amount equal to the exchange drawn by Americans against exported produce there can be no balance left to be settled with gold. And this is just what the large sale of securities by European holders in American markets is enabling these bankers to do.

That there should have come this increased sale of securities to us and also an increased sale of merchandise with the result of stopping the import of gold is not at all surprising. It is but the operation of a simple law of trade by which a distribution of the world's stock of gold is effected in such way as to give to each country its share and no more. That share is sufficient to maintain prices at a general world's level. If the whole stock to be divided is small, that share must necessarily be small and prices low, to the great detriment of industry. But if we persist in building our monetary system on gold, and there is not enough gold to be had to maintain prices, this cannot be helped. Besides, we may soothe ourselves by the thought that others will share our misery, for the fortunes of all gold-using peoples will be effected equally.

If there are two corner groceries and one reduces prices, the other must follow suit or lose its trade, save just this far: To make purchases of the grocery that makes the reduction may be inconvenient to the customers of the other, and the making of such purchases would perhaps cost more in additional labor and energy and time than the saving of the money cost was worth. Consequently, one grocery might hold its trade though keeping prices fractionally above the prices of its competitor. But clearly this keeping up of prices could only be a fractional one, else the saving of cost would balance the inconvenience and extra labor necessitated in making purchases of the other grocery, and it would be worth the while of the customers of the higher-priced grocery to transfer their patronage. Now, if the two groceries be situated in the same town, in close proximity to one another, there will evidently be little room for differences of prices. If they are situated in two different and somewhat distant villages, differences of prices may be more pronounced, but never more pronounced than sufficient to induce customers of the less liberal grocery to transfer their custom to the other.

Or again the miller who is right at the back door of the

country store may ask and command a somewhat higher price for his flour than the distant milling company. But how much higher price? A higher price equal to the freight that will have to be paid on flour bought of the milling company. If such company sells its flour so cheap that with the freight added it will cost the country storekeeper less than the miller at his back door asks, such miller will be constrained to reduce his price or lose his trade. Of course there may be some trade or personal reasons why the storekeeper should give some preference to the local miller. As a good customer he may feel it to be the course of wisdom to maintain a reciprocity of trade, or again the storekeeper may as debtor to such miller fear to displease him. But all this does not affect the main point in view, namely that the consumers of flour will buy where they can buy to best advantage, that they will pay no miller more for his flour than another save it be that on flour bought from one the freight is less than on flour bought from some other and then the miller whose flour is delivered the cheapest may command as much more for his flour than others as the extra freight on the flour of those others amounts to. But more than this he cannot charge. To charge more would mean decreased sales. So we see that flour prices over the country can only differ within certain limitations.

And what is true of flour prices is true of gold prices the world over, what is true of the millers is true of countries. Prices of goods in different gold countries may differ, prices in some may be higher than in others, but not more high than will suffice to cover the costs of transporting produce from those countries where selling cheapest to those where selling highest. For as soon as the difference rises above this margin a shipment of goods to such country from outside will pay and such shipments will be undertaken and continue until either by a fall in prices in the country to which the goods are shipped or, owing to the increasing demand, a rise in prices in the shipping countries, the margin disappears. So it is that there comes to be a world's level of prices and gold prices the world over fluctuate together. Of course trade restrictions, customs or protective tariffs, may much widen the divergence in prices before the difference grows so great as to show a margin of profit in shipping to the country where prices are high. And so again may a country, even as individuals, find or at least believe that reciprocity of trade will redound to its advantage and so enter into reciprocal arrangements whereby it may pass by the cheapest markets and make a market for higher priced goods of others in return for a broadening of markets for its own goods. But all this does not affect the general rule we have laid down. It increases the limitations of the divergences that may exist in price levels in different countries but this is all. It does not make the price movement in one gold using country independent of the price movements in others.

If in one such country there comes a rise in prices independently of other countries, the inevitable result is an increase in the sales of things to the people of that country, a decreased sale of the things of that country abroad, a drain of gold and a falling back of prices. Now, are we in this position? This is the serious question that confronts us. If we accept a leading Republican newspaper for our authority as to the facts, we must say that we are. Thus the *Philadelphia Press* remarks: "Most things are higher than for five years. This change has come rapidly. It is altogether in this country. Prices abroad do not rise." This, be it remarked, only refers to prices of produce, and makes up only half of the picture. Moreover, it is not strictly true. Prices in this country are, indeed, as a general thing, as high as they were in the early part of 1894, after the collapse following the panic of 1893, and considerably higher than they have been at times since. But it is not true that the rise has been altogether in this country, though it is a fact that prices have advanced in the United States more rapidly and higher than in Europe. Prices thus advancing faster here than abroad, the margin at which products can be profitably exported

from the United States falls; the margin at which goods can be imported rises. The natural result must be an increase of imports, encouraged by the relatively high prices; a decrease of exports from the same cause. As yet this rise of prices in America, and a greater rise than has occurred in Europe, has been relatively so small as to have had no very appreciable effect. But imports are unquestionably expanding—15 per cent. larger for January than the same month a year ago—and, though thus far exports of manufactured goods continue in undiminished volume, "the various markets are all waiting," says the *Press*, "to see the effect of this advance."

But it is the other side of the picture, the rising prices of another class of things, of stock exchange securities, not of merchandise, that is most potent at this time. The gold that has been imported into the country in very considerable volume during the past year has been largely used as a basis upon which to boost stock exchange securities. On the gold imported the banks have extended credits, and those credits have been extended to stock brokers, thus enabled to buy more stocks, carry more speculative accounts, generally encourage a speculative rise in the prices of securities. And on this rise foreign holders have sold, sold liberally, sold until the advance has been checked, until a stoppage has been put to gold imports. A little more of this foreign pressure means a breaking of the markets, for the banks getting no more gold have nothing on which to still further inflate their inverted pyramid of credits, and without such extension of credits the stock brokers and the bankers and the speculative cliques cannot take up foreign offerings. Yet such offerings left upon the market inviting buyers and the market will sag.

Not since the year 1879-81 have we had gold importations in any way paralleling the present. Then, as now, prices rose. The result was that imports rose. From \$445,000,000 in 1879 they rose to \$724,000,000 in 1882. During the same period exports first shot upwards, and from much the same causes as they have now shot upwards, and as they shot upward in 1892. From \$710,000,000 in 1879 exports rose to \$902,000,000 in 1881, and then fell to \$750,000,000 in 1882. Thus the net gain in exports during this period was \$40,000,000, against an increase in imports of \$280,000,000. It was this that put a stop to the flow of gold to our shores, caused gold imports to suddenly drop from over \$97,000,000 in 1881 to \$1,789,000 in 1882. And during this period foreigners were buying largely of our securities. Now they are selling, not buying. Imports, too, are increasing. Men are uncertain whether the rise in prices has gone far enough to check the expansion of our foreign trade or not. The months of the year are upon us when exports normally fall off, for our chief export products are agricultural, and hence the great export months those following the harvesting of the crops—the slim export months, those of the spring and early summer, which likewise, and for this reason, are in ordinary seasons months of gold exports, rarely of imports. Need we, therefore, be surprised at the stoppage of gold imports? Need we expect the early resumption of such importations, and a further rise in prices based thereon? Surely, we ought not to be surprised, for we are witnessing that which we should anticipate, and the only sound basis for a resumption of gold imports and a further and sustained upward movement of prices is the hope of an outpouring of new gold sufficient to cheapen gold and inflate prices the world over.

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The last of the present series of popular Pennsylvania Railroad personally-conducted tours to Jacksonville will leave New York and Philadelphia by special train of Pullman Palace cars on Tuesday, March 7.

Round-trip tickets, valid to return on regular trains until May 31, 1899, and including railway transportation in each direction, and Pullman accommodations (one berth), and meals on special train *going*, will be sold at the following rates: New York, \$50.00; Philadelphia, \$48.00; Canandaigua, \$52.85; Erie, \$54.85; Wilkesbarre, \$50.35; Pittsburg, \$53.00; and at proportionate rates from other points.

For tickets, itineraries, and full information apply to ticket agents; Tourist Agent, 1196 Broadway, New York; Thomas Purdy, Passenger Agent Long Branch District, 789 Broad Street, Newark, N. J.; Thos. E. Watt, Passenger Agent Western District, Pittsburg, Pa.; or address Geo. W. Boyd, Assistant General Passenger Agent, Broad Street Station, Philadelphia.—*Adv.*

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

- INTRODUCTORY FRENCH PROSE COMPOSITION. By Victor E. Francois. Pp. 94. New York: American Book Co. 25 cents.
- LA CIGALE CHEZ LES FOURMIS. Comedy in one act. Edited by Thomas J. Farrar. Pp. 56. New York: American Book Co. 25 cents.
- SELECTED LETTERS OF MADAME DE SEVIGNE. Edited by L. C. Syms. Pp. 123. New York: American Book Co. 40 cents.
- OUR NEW POSSESSIONS, Cuba, Puerto Rico, Hawaii, Philippines. Pp. 32. New York: American Book Co. 10 cents.
- A HISTORY OF JAPANESE LITERATURE. By W. G. Aston. Pp. 408. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
- PUERTO RICO, and Its Resources. By Frederick A. Ober. Pp. 282, with maps and illustrations. New York: D. Appleton & Co. \$1.50.
- BIRD GODS. By Charles de Kay. Pp. 246. New York: A. S. Barnes & Co. \$2.
- A KLONDIKE PICNIC. The Story of a Day. By Eleanor C. Donnelly. Pp. 160. New York: Benziger Brothers.
- IN BRIGHTER CLIMES, or Life in Socioland. A Realistic Novel. By Albert Chavannes. Pp. 254. Knoxville, Tenn.: Chavannes & Co. 25 cents.
- LEADING CASES, American and English, on the LAW OF LEGAL TENDER AND MONEY. By John J. Crandall. Pp. 358. Camden, N. J.: S. Chew & Sons.
- A HUNGARIAN NABOB. By Maurus Jokai. Translated by R. Nisbet Bain. Pp. 358. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.25.
- MCTEAGUE. A Story of San Francisco. By Frank Norris. Pp. 442. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. \$1.50.
- THROUGH THE TURF SMOKE. The Love, Lore and Laughter of Old Ireland. By Seumas MacManus. Pp. 294. New York: Doubleday & McClure Co. 75 cents.
- THE LABOUR ANNUAL. The Year Book for Social and Political Reformers. 1899. Pp. 200. Wallasey, near Liverpool, England: Joseph Edwards. 35 cents.
- POEMS BY RICHARD REALF, Poet, Soldier, Workman. With a Memoir by Richard J. Hinton. Pp. 232. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Co. \$2.50.
- WESSEX POEMS and Other Verses. By Thomas Hardy. Pp. 210. Illustrated. New York: Harper & Brothers. \$1.75.
- DER LETZTE. By Ernst von Wildenbruck. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by F. G. G. Schmidt. Pp. 73. Boston: D. C. Heath & Co. 25 cents.
- LIFE'S COMEDY. Third Series. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.
- MUSIC AND POETRY. Essays upon some aspects and Inter-Relations of the two arts. By Sidney Lanier. Pp. 248. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. \$1.50.

Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington—Six-day Tour via Pennsylvania Railroad.

The third of the present series of personally-conducted tours to Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington via the Pennsylvania Railroad will leave New York and Philadelphia on Saturday, March 18.

Tickets, including transportation, meals en route in both directions, transfers of passengers and baggage, hotel accommodations at Old Point Comfort, Richmond and Washington, and carriage ride about Richmond—in fact, every necessary expense for a period of six days—will be sold at rate of \$34.00 from New York, Brooklyn and Newark; \$32.50 from Trenton; \$31.00 from Philadelphia, and proportionate rates from other stations.

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BOOK REVIEWS.

Christian Rationalism. By J. H. RYLAND, D. D., New York: Thomas Whittaker. \$1.25.

Before us we have a half dozen essays on matters in debate between faith and unbelief—questions that have been discussed from time immemorial, by high and low, educated and ignorant, questions still unsolved. These short essays we understand were first presented to an admiring congregation in a series of lectures, and the logic of the Rev. Dr. Ryland proved so convincing that his hearers prevailed upon him to have them published that the world might receive the benefits of his study. Hence this little book.

Taken altogether this work deals with its subject much as many another book has done. The old straw is thrashed over again in the usual way and with the usual force. Our author is however more than ordinarily educated and well informed. Unfortunately this point he recognizes a little too clearly. The strongest thing against the book are the unnecessary and far from becoming attacks of the author upon the teachers of Christianity in the Roman Catholic Church. He condemns in the most scathing and vigorous terms those so-called free thinkers who deny the religion of Christ and then in the same breath likens such in a sneering manner to the members of the Papal Church. Dr. Ryland fails to grasp the worth of science or the aims of its expounders. He still has notions about the scientists and their work that show he has not outgrown entirely the old and absurd theory that the advance of scientific knowledge is harmful to religion. The chapter on "The Racking Doubt" is a very strong presentation of our faith in the immortality of the soul. It is the old question over again—"If a man die shall he live again?" Who can answer? Study as we may, God's ways are past finding out. To the question man can find no answer, nature makes no reply, but hope and love answer, yes.

The Bashful Earthquake, and other Fables and Verses. By OLIVER HERFORD, with many pictures by the author. New York: Chas. Scribner's Sons. \$1.25.

The tipsy cover of this little book is a good criterion of the quality of meat between the covers. Mr. Herford's fables and verses are so absolutely absurd and ridiculous as to excite our compassion and we feel as if a cooling cloth applied to his brow would have a quieting effect. Of course this is exactly the bull's-eye aimed at by our author and gladly would we drop the book and all comment here were it not for fear that the innocent might rush in and spend the hard earned penny thinking they were getting the real unadulterated laugh-inciting article. In this they would be rudely disappointed as the book is over-done, the author attempting to be too funny. We venture the opinion that he who dares read this book from beginning to end will speedily find his way to the home of the diseased minds. If not, he must be immune. The illustrations are all in good keeping with the verses, only they are uniformly good and very enjoyable. The book would have been strengthened if the verses had been omitted and the spare space filled by additional comic pictures.

Science of the Millennium. By STEPHEN and MARY MAYBELL. San Francisco, Cal.

Brother and sister Maybell have made some study of the social and religious questions of the day, and with the evident and noble desire of lending the helping hand to the down-trodden and oppressed, have gone to the trouble and expense of publishing their views. The get up of their little book and the method of writing is striking and unique, in the endeavor made to follow as closely as possible the style of the Holy Bible. This odd idea may take, but we fear the people at large will not take kindly to the experiment. Of the book itself we can say but little. It teaches the old story over again that we should look within our own souls for relief and light, that then and only then will we find the real life as taught by our Saviour.

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The Story of a Genius. From the German of OSSIP SHUBIN. Englished by E. H. LOCKWOOD. New York: R. F. Fenno & Co. 75 cents.

German novels in the generality of cases do not arouse the American reader. That this is so is most natural and not at all surprising. That we are a different people is quite apparent, and such being the case it would be extraordinary if we did not look at persons and things in a different way. The German sentiment does not please; their brusque and military life rather repels. The German novelist must, of course, aim to please his fellows, not the foreigner. This is as it should be and we take no exception to it, but we do condemn the habit of translating many of the ordinary German novels of the day. When one of our own people thinks a novel worthy of translation we naturally imagine that the book is at least readable. As the purchaser of such book is pretty sure of disappointment it is a good deal like gathering in the dollars under false pretenses. Over the present book we need not pause. Of the three stories, "The Nobl' Zwiik" is quite good, the other two are without color and have but little life.

* *

Finance and Transportation. A Practical Solution of the Financial and Transportation Questions. By JAY D. MILLER. Oak Park, Ill. 10 cents.

An unobtrusive little book or rather pamphlet of ninety-six petite pages that has lain on our desk unread, unnoticed much longer than it deserved, for though we find nothing really new in its pages, but only in rough sketch the settlement of two great questions as one that we have pressed on our readers for some time, we were both entertained and instructed in the reading. As a Republican, the author, a Chicago lawyer, believes the quickest way to reach the desired ends is through reforming the old parties. Don't give up the ship while she can be saved and cast adrift upon a waste of waters, is his motto, and a good motto too, but the old party ships are too rotten to be saved. However, he does not think so. His "idea of the duty of reformers to political organizations," he explains, "has, perhaps, been better demonstrated in the state of Michigan than in any other section of the Union, and the success there clearly indicates that what the people want and most need is worthy and intelligent leaders in whom they may safely place their supreme confidence." And as one pat on the back deserves another no wonder Governor Pingree, of Michigan, writes of this book and as reproduced in fac simile on the back of the cover: "This publication presents in their true light, questions that immediately concern the American people." However, and though unfortunately the success of the reform movement in Michigan and under Republican, Pingree auspices, that the author deemed assured, has been blasted by recent events, the triumph of Burrows over Pingree, what the Governor writes is eminently true of the booklet which is well worth its price of 10 cents as dear as dimes are.

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